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Secretary upon to exceed 12 lines with pri-tice wing advertispeents at pleasure, the quarterly, et half yearly in Advance, 40 00 in Advertisements inserted in this paper appear both in and in the Evening editions.

T LARGE PAPER, FOR THE COUNTRY, STELLSRED EVERY SATVEDAY MORNING.

THE TRIBUNE

MR. CLAY'S SPEECH,

pelivered in the City of Raleigh, April 13th, 1841. and Fellow-Citizens, Ludies and Gentlemen of

long cherished object of my heart is accouna. I am at your Capital and in the midst of I have looked forward to this my first visit orth Carolina, with anxious wishes, and with expectations of great gratification; and I am to say that my fondest anticipations have more than realized. Wherever I have passed y way to your city, wherever I have stopped e depots of Railroads, in country, town or e, it has been my good fortune to receive the demonstrations of respect and kindness all parties, from both sexes, and from every but no where have 1 met, no where had 1 cred such a distinguished reception, and such sinstic greetings as those with which my al here has been attended. I am rejoided to till you this day, to stand surrounded by you e shade of this magnificent Capitol, a noble ent of your public liberality and taste; and in grasp of each outstretched hand, and my cheered by the smiles and beauty of the fair eserved by the sinites and the honored hiers of North Carolina, who have honored hiers of North Carolina, who have honored hiers of North Land an American occasion by their presence, I cannot an American and I do rej ice, that I am an American and I do red that, though far removed from my date home and friends, yet I tread here the american and the midst of my of my own country, am in the midst of my and countrymen, and can exclaim in the are of the Scottish bard, that this, this is my own, my native land." I own that I my own, my native land." I own that I been truly and greatly, but agreeably surI had expected to find some hundreds, as a few thousands assembled here to meet set me. I did not expect to witness such as a ming. I did not expect to see the whole congregated together; but here it is!—From matains and from the sea board—from the ex-

simplicity, and efficiency of its institutions-miform patriotism and inflexible virtue; b et, unobrusive, and unambitious demeanor its steady and firm attachment to the Union its steady and firm attachment to the Union whit is one of the surest props and pillars—noine, of which although it is not proud, bett is not in its nature to be proud, its sister way well envy and emulate her. For these manifestations of your respect and esteem, I few all. I thank my fair countrywomen hoing this meeting by their countenance and set. I thank your worthy Chief Magistrate generous manner in which he has represent hospitality. I thank the various Comfort he kindness and attention which I have four hospitality. I thank the various Com-fer the kindness and attention which I have dat their hands, and particularly the Con-sho did me the honor to meet nee on the sof your State, and escort me to this City. a here, fellow-citizens, in compliance with sm summons. Warm and repeated invita-sist this State and my own ardent desir-it to form the acquaintance and to share the alines of its citizens, have brought me in your

and from the centre, I see around me the

which has earned this estimable title by the

alties of its citizens, have brought are in your re. I have come with objects, exclusively and triendly. I have come upon no political.

I have not come as a propagandist. I change no man's opinion, to shake no man's oce to his party. Satisfied and contented he opinions which I have formed upon public after thorough investigation and full deliberal am wilting to leave every other man in the sarbed possession of his opinions. It is one or you privileges, m a free country, to form our memors upon all matters of public concerning the exercise of it for myself I am ever resecond to others equal freedom in exercisity themseves. But, masmuch as the manner

for themseves. But, masmuch as the manne a my exercise the rights, appertaining a my exert, reciprocally, an influence upon acter, for good or for evil, we owe the mutual a dansidering fairly, fully, and disinterestedly.

Manuers of public policy which may be pro-

sough, fellow-citizens, I have truly said that god, tenowe threats, I have truly sain and good come to your State with any political or purposes I am aware of the general exists, entertained here, that I should embrace scasion to make some exposition of my sensitive of the second state of the second state. And yet I must declare, with perfect tru have not and never bad any taste for the I have not and never had any use for the addresses. I have always found them instead unpleasant. I have not distinct publing, but it has been public speaking, in legi-

shalls, on public measures affecting the well
that country, or before the tribunals of jus
lines been public speaking, in which there
tracise and well defined object to be pur
ly a train of thought and argument, adapted

mout presuming to prescribe to any body zecourse which he ought to pursue in forming judgment upon political parties, public and the principles which ought to guide will state my own. In respect to political res, of which I have seen many, in this countries to the principles with the countries of the principles will be a seen many in this countries. during a life which is now considerably pro ed, I believe in the main, most of them think we persuaded themselves to believe, that they ming at the happiness of their country, duties and their interests, well understood excessarily urge them to promote its welfare passions and prejudices, and still more by inter-d demagogues, who cloak and conceal their perdesigns. Political parties, according to my ble opinion of their legitimate sphere of or means, subordinate, but important instru 3, or means, substituting, but the great purposes of sor means, in effecting the great purposes of administration of government; highly useful administration of government; highly useful pathonian; but, when country is lost sight of pathonian; but, when country is lost sight of erests of the country,

parrowsn; but, when country is lost sight of the interests of the party become paramount to interests of the country, when the government by the party and is not administered for the seft of the people, and the whole people, but to make the purposes, and selfish aims of itself, o her of its leaders, then is such a party, whateve per of its leaders, then is such a party, whatever to the the popular name it may assume, highly mensal and dangerous. I am a Whig, warmly to the party, which hears that respected to the party are best calculated to secure the happing and prosperity of our common county; but, it is the prosperity of our common county to the terms of the party of the part ph party or individual aggrandizement, and not Public good, I would instantly and for ever don it, whatever might be the consequences to helf or whatever the regrets which I might feel begarating from veteran friends. My opinions great and leading measures of public policy a become settled convictions, and 1 am a Whig party seeks the establishment of those seasons, party seeks the establishment of those seasons, party seeks the establishment of those seasons, party seeks the establishment of the two batarties of the country, I ought to be connected, far been gowerned by a full consideration, and comparison, of the tendency of their respective exples, measures, conduct and views. There is prominent and characteristic difference between two parties, which eminently distinguishes prominent and characteristic difference between two parties, which eminently distinguishes an and which, it there were no other, would be cient to decide my judgment. And that is, the cet and deference uniformly displayed by the fand the disregard and contempt exhibited by wher to the Constitution, to the laws and to pub athority. In a country, where a free and reli-mment is established, it should be the pleasure. It is the bounder duty, of every citizen to stand is the bounden duty, of every citizen to stan d uphold the Constitution and laws, and sup-he public authority; because they are his Con--his laws, and the public authority ema-ion his will. Having concurred, by the se of his privileges, in the adoption of the Conon, and in the passage of the laws, any out-a violation attempted of either ought to be reas an offence against himself, an offence the majesty of the people. In an arbitrary bolute government, the subject may have arch, because they are not only promul-ithout consulting his will, but sometimes the wishes and the interests of the people

species of government, the power of the

free people, the fact that the laws are their

high to supply, in a prompt and voluntary a force

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE.

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nore peaceful, more powerful, and more reasonable can any derivable from a mercenary soldiery. It is far from my intention or desire to do the least justice to the party to which I am opposed; but think that in asserting the charscteristic diff rence between the two parties which I have done, I am fully berne out by facts, to some of which, only, on his occasion, can I refer, and these shall all be of

scent nature.
The first, to which I shall call your attention, has accurred during the present session of Congress. The variety in the mode of electing members to the House of Reprentatives of the United States, sumbling chosen by whole States, and others by separate Districts, was long a subject of deep and generate. ral complaint. It gave to the States unequal power in the Councils of the Nation. Mississippi or New-Hampshire, for example, by a general ticket, securing the election of its members to the House of Representatives, all of one political party, might acquire more power, in that House, than the State of New-York, which, electing its members by Districts, might return an equal or nearly an equal number of members of both the parties. According to the General Ticket system, it is impossible that the elective franchise can be exercised with the same liscretion and judgment as under the District sys discretion and judgment as under the Discretic sys-tem. The elector cam of possess the same oppor-tunity, under the one system as under the other, of becoming acquainted with, and ascertaining the capacity and fidelity of, the candidate for his suf-frage. An elector, residing in one extreme of the State, cannot be presumed to know a candidate living at a distance from him, perhaps at the other state, cannot be presented to know a canadam-itying at a distance from him, perhaps at the other extreme. By the General Ticket, the minority in a State is completely smothered. From these, and other views of the subject, it has been long a patriotic wish cutertained that there should be some uniform mode, both of electing members to the House of Representatives and choosing Electors of Possident and View Possident. I receiled well President and Vice President. I recollect well. some twenty years ago, when public opinion ap-peared to be almost unanimous upon this subject. Well, the last Whig Congress, in order to preven the abuses, and to correct the inequality, arising out of the diverse modes of electing members of the House of Representatives, passed an act requiring that it should be uniform and by Districts. This act was in conformity with an express grant of power contained in the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "the times, places and nanner of holding elections for Senators and Repremanner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators." With that reasonable, equal and just act of Congress, every Whig State, whose Legislature assembled in time after its passage, strictly complied, and hid off their respective States into Districts accordingly. But the four States, with Democratic Legislatures, of Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri and New-Hampshire, retused to conform to the law, treated it with contemptuous neglect, and suffered the elections for members of the Howse of Representatives to proceed, embers of the House of Representatives to proceed in total disregard of its provisions. This was a new species of Nullification, not less reprehensible than nat which was attempted formerly in another State. hough admitting of a more easy and peaceful reme ly. That remedy was to refuse to allow the men

bers, returned from the four States, to take their seats in the House of Representatives, which they ad no Constitutional or legal right to occupy had no Constitutional or legal right to occupy. That question the present House of Representatives had to decide. But it was predicted, long before they assembled, confidently predicted, that the members from the four refractory States would be allowed to take their seats, the Constitution and the law not withstanding. Why was it so predicted? Was in not because it was known, from the general character and conduct of the dominant party in the House, that it would not hesitate to trample under foot both law and Constitution, if necessary to the accom-Law and Constitution, if necessary to the accomplishment of a party object? Accordingly, the question recently came up in the House, and the members from the four States were admixed to their And what, fellow citizens, do you suppose was the process of reasoning by which this mo-extraordinary result was brought about? Congres

was the process of reasoning by which in the mass extraordinary result was brought about? Congress, you have seen, is invested with antimited power to make regulations as to the times, places and manner of holding elections for Representatives, or to after those which might have been previously made by the State Legislatures. There is nothing in the grant of the power which enjoins upon Congress to exercise the whole of it, or none. Considerations of obvious convenience concur in leaving to the several States themselves, the fixation of the times and places of holding those elections. In that, each State may be governed by its sense of its own convenience, without injuriously affecting other States. But it is different with the manner of holding elections; that is, whether it be by General Ticket or iv the District system. If some States elect by a General Ticket, it gives to them an undue advantage over those States which elect by the District system. The manner, therefore, of holding elections was a fit subject, and the only fit subject, contained in the grant of power, for Congressional legistained in the grant of power, for Congressional legislation. If Congress had legislated beyond that, it would have overreached the convenience and necessity of the case. But the dominant party, in the of the case. But the dominant party, in ent House of Representatives, have strang resent House of Representatives, have stranger assumed that Congress could not execute a part the granted power, without the whole. Ac o their logic, the major does not include the In their view, Government cannot execute a part of a power with which it is entrusted without it excutes the whole of a power vested in it. If the principle he true, when applied to a part of the Co stitution, it would be equally true in its application of the whole Constitution; but there are many parts to the whole Constitution; but there are many parts of the Constitution that never have been, and probably never will be, executed. And, if the doctrine of the dominant party in the House of Representatives be sound, all the laws enacted by Congress since the commencement of the Government are null and yold, because Congress has not executed all the powers of Government with which it was entrusted. The doctrine, applied to the enjoyment of private property, would restrain a man from using any part of his property, unless he used the whole of it.

t his property, unless he used the whole of it. The case of the New-Jersey election is familia with every body. There the Whig members who presented themselves at Washington, to take their seats, bore with them the highest credentials, under seats, bore with them the highest credentials, under the seats of he great seal of their State, demonstrating theight to occupy them. They had been regularly leclared and returned elected members of the House of Representatives, by the regular authorities, and according to the law of the State of New-Jersey Agreeably to the uniform usage, which had prevail ed in that House from the commencement of the Government, and according to the usage which prevails in every representative body, they had a right to demand to be admitted to their seats, and to hel and occupy them, until any objections which might exist against them should be subsequently investigated. In the case of the four States already noticed, it was important to the interests of the dominant party, in order to swell their majority, that the members returned should be allowed to take their centre of though, alogical contexts, to law. In the eats, although elected contrary to law. In the New Jersey case, it was important to the dominant party to enable it to retain its majority to exclude the Whig members, although returned according to

law. The decision in both cases was adapted to the exigency of party interest, in utter contempt, both of Constitution and law; and it is worthy of obserers of New-Jersey, members who boast of being uphatically the patrons and defenders of State rights, concurred in trampling under foot the laws and authorities of that State.

In connection with the subject on which I am m addressing you, the manner of admission of Michigan into the Union is worthy of notice. According to the usage which had uniformly prevailed prior to the admission of the States of Michigan and Arkansas, a previous act of Congress was passed, authorizing the agree of the nearly of the territory to be the sense of the people of the territory to be taken, in convention, and regulating the election of members to that body. limiting their choice to citizens of the United States residing in the territory. Michigan, without the sanction of a previous act of Congress, undertook, upon her sole form a Constitution, and demanded at the Union. In appointing memories to demanded admission int

the Union. In appointing memoers to that conven-tion, a great number of aliens, as well as citizens of the United States, were allowed to vote, against the earnest remonstrances of many resident citizens. Under these circumstances, she applied to Congress to be admitted into the Union. No one questioned or doubted that she was entitled to be or doubted that she was entitled to be received, whenever she presented herself regularly and ac-cording to law. But it was objected against her adisage, without the authority of Congress; and that, ontrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, she had permitted aliens to partake of the elective franchise. The danger was pointed out of allowing aliens, unnaturalized, and without renouning their allegiance to foreign sovereigns and po lege. But all objections were unavailing: the domnant party, under the hope of strengthening their iterests, in spite of all irregularity, and in contra-

ention of law, admitted Michigan, as a State, into In intimate connection with this case the subject of Dorrrism may be noiced. Rhode Island had an

Under the operation of it, the people of no State in the Union, in proportion to her population, had displayed more valor, patriotism and enterprize. Dore did not find his ambifious aspirations sufficiently graffed under this venerable government, and the principle diated with the present of the state of the transfer of the superior of the superior of a single individual, graffed under this venerable government, and the principle diated and thing the principle diated and thing the principle which, with cautious limitations, may be true—without consulting the established government and the public authorities, he undertook to beat up for recruits, to hold irregular elections, at which persone qualified, dead and living, were pretended to have voted, and living were pretended to have voted and living were pretended to have voted, and living were pretended to have voted, and living were pretended to have voted and living were pretended to have tions, at which persons qualified and unqualified, dead and living, were pretended to have voted, and thus securing a heterogeneous majority, he proceed do form a new Constitution and to set up a new government. In the mean time, the legitimate and regular government proceeded in operation and pre-pared to sustain itself and put down the insurrectionary proceeding. Dorrflew to arms and collect ed a military force, as irregular and beterogeneou ed a military lorce, as irregular and neterogeneous as his civil majority had been. But on the first approach of military force, on the part of the legitimate and regular government. Dorr took to his beels and ignominiously fled, leaving his motly confederates to fare as they might. Now fellow citizens what has been the conduct of the two parties in respect to this insurrection which, at one time in respect to this insurrection which, at one seemed to be so threatening? The Whigs every where, I believe to a man, have disapproved and con-demned the movement of Dorr. It has been far otherwise with our opponents. Without meaning to assert that the whole of them countenanced and supported Dorr, every body knows that all the sym

supported Porr, every body knows that all the sympathy and encouragement which he has received, have been among them. And toey have introduced the subject into the present House of Representives. We shall see what they will do wint it. You can readily comprehend and feel what would be the effects and consequences of Dorrism here at the South, if Dorrism were predominant. Any amprincipled adventurer would have nothing to do but to collect around him a mosaic majority, black and white, aliens and citizens, young and old, male anfemale, overturn existing governments and set up new ones, at his pleasure or caprice! What earthly security for life, liberty or property, would remain if a proceeding so fraught with confusion disorder and insubordination, were tolerated and sanctioned!

and manbordination, were tolerated and sanction at Then there is Repudiation—that dark and four spot upon the American name and character—how came it there? The stain has been put there by the Democratic majority of the Legislature of Mississippi. Under special pleas, and colorable pretexts, which any private man of honor and probing the state of the property and the property a would scorn to employ, they have refused to pay the debts of that State—debts contracted by the re-ceipt of an equivalent expended within the State. The Whige of that State who are the principal Tax reaving section of the population, with repark-Tax-paying portion of the population, with remark able unanimity, are in favor of preserving its hono and good faith, by a reimbursement of the debt; but the Democratic majority persists in refusing to pr n charging the whole of th Democratic party with this shameful public frame perpetrated by their brethren in the State of Miss issippi. Without the State, to their honor be it said, most of them disapprove it; and within the State here are many honorable exceptions, among th

Democrats.

Other examples might be cited to prove the de-Other examples might be cited to prove the destructive and disorganizing tendency of the character, course and principles of the Democratic party, but these will suffice for this occasion. If the systems and measures of public policy of the two parties are contrasted and compared, the result will be not less favorable to the Whig party. With the Whig party there prevails entire concurrence as to the principles and measures of public policy which it remouses. In the other party we held not have t epouses. In the other party we behold nothin but division and distraction—their principles, vary ing at different times and in different latitudes. I rspect to the Tariff, whilst in some places the re-proclaiming that Free Trade is the true Demo-tratic doctrine, and the encouragement of Domesti

Industry Federal heresy, in other parts of the Union they insist that the Democrats are alone to be relied upon to protect the Industry of the Country, end that the Whigs are opposed to it.

That is a great practical and administrative question, in respect to which there is happily now prevailing among the Whigs, throughout the whole Linion, a degree of unanimity as nonrecolerated as it. Union, a degree of unanimity as unprecedented as a gratifying. From New-Orleans to this place, have conversed with hundreds of them, and I have not met with a solitary one, who does not assent t the justice and expediency of the principle of a Tar-iff for revenue, with discriminations for Protection On this interesting question, fellow citizens, it is my purpose to address you, with the atmost freedom and sincerity, and with as lattle reserve as if I were before an audience in the State of Kenaucky. I have long given to this subject the nost impurial and deliber ate consideration, of which my mindle capable. I be-

recollect no example to the contrary in ancient odern times. Although Italy did not itself affi di those supplies to Ancient Rome, the deficient as drawn from her subjugated provinces. Gr Britain, although her commerce encompasses t world, supplies herself mainly from the little isla under her immediate dominion. Limited and c racted as it is, it furnishes her with bread and or uly of a few days; and her manufatures, no supply an abundance of raiment and means of conce, but afford a vast surplus for exportation

foreign countries.

In considering the policy of introducing and establishing manufactures in our country, it has all ways appeared to me that we should take a broad and extensive view, looking to seasons of war. well as peace, and regarding the foture, as well as the past and the present. National existence is no to be measured by the standard of individual life But it is equally true, both of nations and of in viduals, that, when it is necessary, we must sub temporary and present privations, for the sake uture and permanent benefits. Even if it werne, as I think I shall be able to show it is r hat the encouragement of domestic manufacter could produce some sacrifices, they would be c ensated, and more than counterbalanced, by ues, it would be found that their cheapness, pre vailing in a time of peace, when the foreign suppl-might be open to us, would be no equivalent for the dearness in a period of war, when that supply would be cut off from us. I am not old. endence; but history and tradition tell us who her were; they inform us what lives were sacri-need, what discemforts existed, what hardships our inclad and unshod soldiers here, what enterprizes ere retarded or paralyzed. Even, during the las ar, all of us, who are old enough to remember it, snow what difficulties, and, at what greet cost, th necessary clothing and means of defence were ob-tained. And who does not feel conscious pride and patriotic satisfaction that these sufferings, in any ourre war, will be prevented, or greatly alleviated, by the progress which our infant manufactures have dready made? If the policy of encouraging them wisely, moderately, and certainly, be persevered in. ne day is not distant when, resting upon our own nternal resources, we may be perfectly sure of an abundant supply of all our necessary wants and, in this respect, put Foreign Powers and Foreign wars at defiance. I know that, from extreme suffering and the necessity of the case, manufactures, in the ong run, would arise and sustain themselves, without any encouragement from Government, just as an unaided infant child would learn to rise, to stand. and to walk; but, in both instances, great distress may be avoided, and essential assistance derived, rom the kindness of the parental hand.

The advantages arising from the division of the laor of the population of a country are too manifest oneed being much dwelt upon. I think the savan tage of a home, as well as foreign, Markets, is equally manifest; but the home market can only be pro-duced by diversified pursuits, creating subjects of exchanges at home as well as abroad. It one por-tion of the population of a country be engaged in the usiness of manufacturing, it must derive its means of subsistence, from the agricultural products of the country in exchange for their fabric of these mutual exchanges is beneficial to both par-The great law, which regulates the prices of com-

modities, is that of supply and demand. If the sup-ply exceed the demand, the price falls; if the demand exceed the supply the price rises. This law will be found to be invariably true. Any augmentation of supply is beneficial to the consumer; but, by establishing manufactures in the United States, an additional supply is created. Again, another principle, universally admitted to be beneficial to

existing government of long duration, under which her population had lived happing and prosperously. It had carried her triumphantly through the war of the revolution and borne her into the Connection, which may exist in Europe ; but it would be still restracted to that competition. By the revolution and borne her into the Union, as one of the original thirteen independent sovereign States.

That monopolys it is true, will be subject to the competition which may exist in Europe ; but it would be still restracted to that competition. By the revolution and borne her into the Union, as one of the original thirteen independent sovereign States. or consequence of the existence of manufactures at nome. They create a demand for labor, which would not exist without them, and the employment ot exist without it. How could the American la or, employed in manufactures, at home, supply its onsumption of European commodities if it were eprived or that employment? What means of urchase would it possess? It is in van to point to Agriculture; for every department of that is al-ready producing super-abundantly. It cannot be questioned that the chief cause of the reduced price of Cotton is the excess of production. The price of t would rise, if less were produced, by diverting a owing rise, it less were produced, by diverting a cortion of the latter corplayed in its cultivation to some other branch of industry. This new pursuit would furnish new sobjects of exchange, and those who might embark in it, as well as those who would continue in the growth of Cotton, would be both benefited by mutual exchanges. The day will come and is not distant, when the South will feel an imperative necessity voluntarity to make such a divertion of a portion of its labor. Considering the on of a portion of its labor. Considering the vast water power, and other facilities of manufacturing, now wasting and unemployed, at the South and it possession, at home, of the choice of the ramaterial. I believe the day will come when the Camaterial.

on region will be the greatest manufacturing region of Cotton in the world. The power of consuming manufactured articles eing increased, in consequence of the domestic es ablishment of manufactures, by the wages of labor which they employ, and by the wealth which they reate, there is an increase also in the use and con-sumption of Cotton and other raw materials. To the extent of that increase, the Cotton grower is di-rectly and positively benefitied by the location of anufactures at home instead of abroad.

But suppose it were true that the shifting to a rtsin extent of the thea re of manufactures fro oreign countries to our own, did not increase consumption at all, and did not augment the deman for Cotton, there would be no just ground of com-plaint with the Cotton planter, and the most that he could say is, that it would be a matter of indifference could say is, that it would be a matter of indifference to him. All that would happen to him would be, a substitution of a certain number of American customers, for an equal number of European customers. But ought it to be, can it be, a natter of indifference to him, whether any portion of his fellow-cirzens in the United States are in a state of prosperity or adversity? If, without prejudice to him, his own country men can acquire a part of the wealth which crises out of the prosecution of manufacting industry, instead of the foreigner, ought he not to rejuce at it? Is it to him a matter of no consequence that a certain amount of wealth, created by manufactures. certain amount of wealth, created by manufactures shall be in his own country, instead of being in for eign countries? If here, its influence and effect will be felt, directly or indirectly, in all the departments of human business, and in a greater or less legree in all parts of the country. It becomes clear addition to the aggregate wealth of the nation increasing its resources, and forming a basis of tax ation and revenue in seasons of war or peace, if no

cessary.

But the advantage resulting from domestic man But the advantage resulting from domestic man-ifactures, in producing an American competition with the European competition, augmenting the supply of manufactured articles, and tending con-sequently to a reduction of prices, is not the sol-advantage, great as that is. A double market is produced both in the purchase of fabrics for co-sumption, and in the sale of productions of Agri-cuture. And how superior is the home to any other market in the conditions of its proximity, its basical modes our own control, and its exemitation. their market in the control, and its exemption from the contingency of war! It has been acquest nowever, that we sell no more than we should do we were deprived of the home market. I have shewn that to be otherwise. The importance of shewn that to be otherwise. The importance of opening new markets is universally admitted. It is an object of the policy of all nations. If we consopen a new market for 400,000 bales of Cotton with any foreign power, should we not gladly embrasid? Every one owns the benefit which arises out of

various markets. All who reside in the neighbor hood of large cities or market to sus, are sensible of the advantage. It is said that our meantactors absorb only about 400,000 bates of Cetton, what as a very small part of the total crop. But suppose that were thrown upon the market of Liverpool, al-ready overstocked and glutted? It would sink the dso about 400,000 bales. If the market of Havi were closed, and that quantity were crowded in a market of Liverpool, would not the effect be r ious to the Cotton grower? Our American inc et is growing, annually increasing and, if the the time will come, I have no doubt, when the ma-ufacture of Cotton in the United States will excethat of England. I do not desire to see any mar closed, domestic or foreign. I think it our true in terest to cherish and cultivate all. But I believe o be our indispensable duty to afford proper as

easonable encouragement to our own.

But it must be borne in mind that, although Cot on is by far the most important of our agricultura roducts, it is not the only one. Where should we and a market for our Indian Corn, if it were not for ne existence of our manufactures? We should abthe existence of our manufactures? We should a solutely have none. My friend, Mr. Pettigrew, wi sits before me, can find no market for his corn in North Carolina, because his neighbors, like himsel are occupied in producing it. Nor can be find any in foreign countries. But he meets with a good sure and convenient market in Boston and Provi-dence, and other Northern capitals. Where should raw agricultural produce now consumed by emanufacturers? If their present business were stroyed, they would be employed themselves in pro-ducing Cotton, corn, provisions and other agricul-tural produce, thus augmenting the quantity an

ural produce, thus augmenting the quantity and avariably leading to a farther decline of prices.

It has been contended that the effect of affording egal encouragement to Domestic Manufactures is enhance the price of commodities, and to impos tax upon the consumer. This argument has been

thousand times refused. It has been shown again crured. ongain and again, that the price of almost every article, on which the system of en-couragement has effectually operated, has been re-duced to the consumer. And this was the necessary consequence of that law of supply and demand, and that principle of competition to which I have before adverted. It was foretold long ago by myself an other friends of the policy. But it is in vain that we appeal to facts. It is in vain that we take up article y article, and comparing present with former prices how the actual and gradual reduction. The free rader has mounted his nobby, and he has determined spur and whip him on, rough shod, over all facts obstacles and impediments that he in his way. It was but the other day, I heard of one of these free trade orators addressing an endience, and depicting in the most plaintive and doleful terms, the extreme every one of you that wears a shirt, is compelled to pay six cents a yard more for it than you otherwise ould do, in order to increase the enormous wear f Northern capitalists. An old man in the crow shabbily dressed, and with scarcely any thing but a shirt on, stopped the eloquent orator, and asked him how that could be ! for, save he, "I have a good shirt on, that cost me only 51 cents per yard, and I should like to know how I paid a duty of 6 cents."

These ingenious and indefatigable theorists not nly hold facts and experies ce in contempt, but they are utterly inconsistent with themselves. At one time they endeavored to raise the alarm that the Ta-riff would put an end to all foreign commerce, and nen drying up our principal source of revenue in ect taxes and internal taxation. In process of time, wever, their predictions were falsified, and the to produce an abundant revenue System was found to produce an abundant revenue. Then they shifted their ground. The Treasury, said hen they shated their growing; the Tariff is the cause, and the extern must be abandoned. If they had taken system must be abandoned. If e trouble to enquire, they might have ascertained that, although England is the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, in amount, extent, and Vaety, she nevertheless draws a vast revenue from Allow me to present you, fellow-citizens, with

another view of this interesting subject. The Government wishes to derive a certain amount of revenu-Consumption, is, the principle of competition. If Europe alone supply the American consumption of manufactures, Europe will enjoy a monopoly in that the total annual amount of revenue to be raised

We are invited, by the partizans of the doctrine of Free I rade, to imitate the liberal example of some of the great European powers. England, we are told, is abandoning her restrictive policy, and adopting that of Free Trade. England adopting the principles of Free Trade! Why, where are her Corn Laws! Those laws which exclude an article of prime necessity-the very bread which sustains human life-ii And, on the single article of American Tobacco England levies annually an amount of revenue equa-to the whole amount of duties, levied annually by the United States upon all the articles of importation ill the Foreign Nations of the world, including Eng and. That is her Free Trade! And as for France, we have lately seen a State paper from one of her high functionaries, complaining in hitter terms of the American Tariff of 1342, and ending with formally nnouncing to the world that France steadily adher d the system of protecting French industry!

But, f-llow-citizens, I have already detained y

too long on this interesting topic, and yet I have carcely buched it. For near thirty years it has agitated the Nation. The subject has been argued and debated a thousand times, in every conceivable form. It is time that the policy of the country should become settled and fixed. Any stable adjustment of it, whatever it may be, will be far preferable to per-petual vascillation. When once determined, labor nterprize and commerce can accommodate themetves accordingly. But in finally settling it, the nterests of the whole Union, as well as all its parts should be duly weighed and considered, in a pater and and fraternal spirit. The Confederacy consists a 26 Status, besides territories, embracing every va riety of pursuit, every branch of human industry.— There may be an apparent, there is no real, conflic between these diversified interests. No one State no one section, can reasonably expect or desire that he common government of the whole should be ad-ninistered, exclusively according to its own peculiar printion, or so as to advance only its particular in-erests, without regard to the opinion or the interest of all other parts. In respect to the Tariff, there are we schools holding upposite and extreme doctrines According to one, perfect freedom in our foreign rade with no, or very low duties, ought to prevail According to the other the restrictive policy ought n many articles, to be pushed, by a high and exor on many articles, to be pushed, by a high and exorvitant Tariff, to the point of absolute prohibition.—
Neither party can hold itself up as an unerring standard of right and wisdom. Fallibility is the lot of
all men, and the wisest know how little they desnow. The doctrine of free trade is a concession te
Foreign powers, without an equivalent, to the preundice of native industry. Not only without equivalent, but in the face of their high duties, restrictions
and prohibitions applied to American products, by
Foreign Powers, our rivals, jealous of our growth,
and anxious to impede our onward progress. Enand anxious to impede our onward progress. En-ouragement of domestic industry is a con-ssion to our own fellow-citizens, to those, whose ancestor bared in common with our ancestors, in the toils he revolution, to those who have shared with us in the toils and suff-rings of our day; to those who-costerity are destined to share with our posterity in he trials, in the triampas and the glories that awai hem. It is a concession to those who are hone our bone and flesh of our flesh, and who in some ther beneficial form do make and are ready to med other benchmal form on make and are really to mes-opti alent concession to us. It is still more; it is uncession by the whole to the whole; for ever-port of the country possesses a capacity to ma-oufacture, and every part of the co-intry more o-ess does manufacture. Some parts have advance-further than others, but the progress of all is forwar-and convail.

Again, I ask what is to be done in this conflict or opinion between the two extremes which I buy mind? Each believes, with quite as much conftence as the other, that the policy which be comeses is the best for the country. Neither has 12ht to demand that his judgment shall exclusive revail. What again, I ask, is to be done? Is cor promise or reconciliation impossible? Is this glo-us. Union to be broken up and dissolved and t impes of the world, which are concentrated in ate, to be blasted and destroyed forever? No. 6 ow citizens, no. The Union must be preserved in the name of the people of this noble old State the first to announce the Independence of the Univ states by the memorable declar tion of Mecklen ourg, and which has ever since been among the most devoted and faithful to the preservation of the Union; in the came of the people of my own gallar State; and in the name of the whole people of the United States, I feel authorized to say, that this Inton will not, must not, shall not be dis-olve How then can this unhappy conflict of opinion b micably adjusted and accommodated? Extremes ellow-citizens, are ever wrong. Truth and justice ound policy and wisdom, always abide in the sound policy and wisdom, aways adule in the imi-die ground, always are to be found in the just-milieu. Ultraism is ever baneful, and, if followed, never fails to lead to fatal consequences. We must reject both the decrines of Free Trade and of a high and exorbitant Tariff. The partizans of each must make some sacrifices of their peculiar opinion.— They must find some common ground on which both can stand, and reflect that, if neither has obained all that it desires, it has secured someth and what it does not retain has been gotten by it friends and countrymen. There are very few wh dissent from the opinion that, in time of peace, the Federal Revenue ought to be drawn from foreign imports without resorting to internal taxation. Here is a basis for accommodation and mutual satisfac t the amount, which is requisite for an eco-

nomical administration of the Government, whe we are not engaged in war, he raised exclusively of we are not engaged in war, be raised exclusively on foreign imports, and in adjusting a Tariff for the purpose let such discriminations be made as will toster and encourage our own Domestic Industry. All parties ought to be eatisfied with a Tariff for evenue and discriminations for protection. In thosettling this great and disturbing question in a spirit of mutualc oncession and of amecable compromise, we do but follow the noble example of our illustrious ancestors in the formation and adoption of rious ancestors in the formation and adoption of our present happy Constitution. It was that be-nien spirit that presided over all their deliberations. and it has been in the same spirit that all the three ening crises that have arisen during the progress o the administration of the Constitution have been happily quieted and accommodated. Next, if not superior in importance to the question

of encouraging the national industry, is that of the national currency. I do not purpose to discuss the national currency. I do not purpose to discuss the point, whether a paper representative of the precious metals, in the form of bank notes, or in other forms convertible into those metals, on demand, at the will of the holder, be or be not desirable and expedient. nate of the commercial world, and considering the amount and distribution of the precious meta broughout the world, such a convertible paper ndispensably necessary. But that is not an oper pussion. If it were desirable that no such paper should exist, it is not in the power of the General Sovernment, under its present Constitution, to pu it down or prevent its creation and circulation. Such a convertible paper has existed, does exist, and pro-bably will always exist, in spite of the General Government. The twenty-six States, which compose the Union, claim the right and exercise the right now not to be controverted, to authorize and put forth such a convertigle paper, according to their own sense of their respective interests. If even a large majority of the States were to resolve to discontinue the use of a paper representative of specie, the paper would nevertheless be created and circulainless every State in the Union abandoned it use; which nobody believes is ever likely to bap-pen. If some of the States should continue to em-ploy and circulate such a paper, it would flow into, and he current in other States that might have rewhich had them not, would find themselves, in sell lefence, compelled to carter them. I recollect perhaps my friend near me, (Mr. B. W. Leigh.) old enough, may also recollect-the introduc tion of Banks in our native States. Virginia adopted slowly and reluctantly the Banking system. recollect, when a boy, to have been present in 79 or 1793, when a debate occurred in the Virgini tleor 1735, when a decate occurred in the virginit is gislature on a proposition, I think it was, to reac the charter of a bank in Alexandria—the first th ed and carried with some difficulty. Aft , finding herself surrounded by Sates that had Banks, and that she was subject to all their inconveniences, whatever they might be, resolved to

abor of the nation, ought it not to be done

same necessity that prompted, at that period, the legislation of Virginia, would hereafter influence States having no banks, but adjacent to those which had. It follows, therefore, that there are and pro are ofter rivals, not only acting without concert, by in collision with each other, and having very imper feet knowledge of the general condition of the whole circulation of the United States, or the state of our monetary relations with foreign Powers. The inevia respective States, begets a necessity for a Unite States Bank, under the authority and control of th General Government. The whole power of government is discributed in the United States between he States and the Federal Government. is general and national appertains to the Federa Government, all that is limited and local to the State Governments. The States cannot perform the duties of the General Government, nor ought that to attempt to perform, nor can it so well exe-cute, the trusts confided to the State Governments We want a National Army, a National Navy, a National Post Office establishment, National Law regulating our foreign commerce and our coasti trade, above all, perhaps, we want a National Co reacy. The duty of supplying these National means of safety, convenience and prosperity mus-be executed by the General Government, or it will remain neglected and unfulfilled. The severa States can no more supply a National Currence han they can provide armies and navies for the The necessity for a national inst ional defence. The necessity for a national insti-ution does not result merely from the existence of cel institutions, but it arises also out o local institutions, but it arises also on the world hat all the great commercial nations of the world have their banks. England, France, Austin, Russin, Holland, and all the great Powers of Europe pave their National Banks. It is said that mency is power, and that to embody and concentrate it is a bank, is to create a great and dangerous power. But we may search the records of history, and we shall find no instance, since the first introduction of banking institutions, of any one of them having sought to subvert the liberties of a country or t sought to subsert the mortes of a country control of the configuration of government. If it were true that the creation of a bank is to embody a monied power, is not such a power in the hands of the General Government necessary to protect the search a grainst the ungoing hower in the form of people against the monied power in the form obanking institutions in the several States, and is the hands of Foreign Governments! Without it how can the commerce of the United States cop and compete with the commerce of foreign power-maxing national banks! In the commercial strug

> insadvantage, if we had no bank and they had ther banks? We all recollect, a few years ago, when a was alleged to be the policy of the bank of Eng-land to reduce the price of our great Southern sta-ple, in order to accomplish that object, the policy was adopted of refusing to discount the note was adopted of remains a magnetic from the American trade. If a bank of the United States had been nexistence at that time, it could have adopted some measure of counteraction; but there was none, and the bank of England effected its purpose. It has been asked, what, will you have banks the propose of the property of merely because the monarchies of Europe have mem? Why not also introduce their King. Lord and Commons, and their anstocracy? This is very shallow mode of reasoning. I might ask in arn, why have armies, navies, laws regulating trade, or any other national institutions or laws, be-ause the monarchies of the old world have them Why cat, or drink, clothe or house ourselves, be cause monarchs perform these operations t 1 su cose myself the course of true wisdom, and of conon sense, to be to draw from their arts, science and civilization, and political instrutions, whateve

Where, exchain of times who oppose the estal ishment of a Bank of the United States upon cor ishment of a Bank of the United States upon conintuitional ground, do we find the greatest opposion to it? You are, fellow-citizens, pechaps in
assessed of information, which I happen to have equired. The greatest opposition to a Bank of the limited States will be found to arise out of a foreg-induced, and may be traced to the bankers and rokers of Wall-street in New-York, who are wield to the perfect of the states of the state ing a foreign capital. Foreign Powers and foreign apital see, with satisfaction, whatever retards the -apital see, with satisfaction, whatever retains in zrowth, checks the prosperity, or arrests the pro-ress of this country. Those who wield that for-ign capital, find from experience, that they can employ it to the best advantage, in a disordera-state of the currency, and when exchanges are fine-tuating and irregular. There are no sections of the Union which need a uniform currency, sound and every where convertible into specie, on demand, so-much as you at the South and we in the West. It is indispensable to our prosperity. And, if or brethren at the North and the East, did not feel the want of it themselves, since it will do them no prudice, they ought, upon principles of sympathy at antual accommodation, to concur it what is so essential to the business and industry other sections of the Union. It is said that the cu other sections of the Union. It is said that the co-rency and exchanges have improved and are in proving, and so they have, and are. This improv ment is mainly attributable to the salutary operations the Tariffor 1842, which turned the balance of foreig rade in our favor. But such is the enterprise a buoyancy of our population that we have no secu-rity for the continuation of this state of things. The balance of trade may take another direction, new evulsions in trade may take place, seasons of di In y body believe the local banking system of the United States is competent to meet and provide to these exigencies? It is the part of a wise Government to anticipate and provide, as far as possible for all these contingencies. It is urged against Banks that they are often badly and dishonestly ad Banks that they are often banty and dishonesity ac ministered, and frequently break, to the injury an prejudice of the community. I am far from denying Ranks are attended with mischief and some onvenience, but that is the lot of all human ins utions. The employment of steam is often attdations. The employment of statements of which we ded with most disastrous consequences, of which we have had recent melancholy examples. But doe any body, on that account, think of proposing to discontinue the agency of steam power either on the land or the water? The most that is though of is, that it becomes our duty to increase vignos-and multiply precautions against the recurrence of accidents. As to Banks, the true question is whether the sum of the inconvenience of dispension with them would not be greater than any amount of of is, that it becomes our duty to increase vigilane which they are productive? And, in any ne ters that may be granted, we should anxiously en deavor to provide all possible restrictions, securitie and guaranties against their mismanagement, which

Such are my views of the question of establishing Bank of the United States. They have been long Bank of the United States. I do not seek to enforce them upon any others Above all, I do not desire any Bank of the Uniter States, attempted or established, unless, and until it is imperatively demanded, as 1 believe demanded it will be, by the opinion of the people.

I should have been glad, fellow-citizens, if I ha me and strength, to make a full exposition of my views and opinions upon all the great measures ar questions that divide us and agitate our con-I should have been happy to have been able to make a full examination of the principles and measures of our opponents, we could find out what they are, and contrast the with our own. I mean them no disrespect; I wo not use one word to wound the feelings of any of them; but I am really and unaffectedly ignor of the measures of public policy which they are de-sirous to promote and establish. I know what they oppose, I know that they stand in direct opposition to every measure which the Whigs espouse; but what are their substitutes? The Whigs believe that the Executive power has, during the two last and the present Administrations, bee intolerably abused; that it has disturbed the ba ancer of the Constitution; and that, by its encroach ments upon the co-ordinate branches of the Government, it has become alarming and dangerous. The Whigs are therefore desirous to restrain it within Whigs are therefore desirous to restrain it within Constitutional and proper limits. But our opponents, who assume to be emphatically the friends of the people sustain the Executive in all its wilder and most extravagant excesses. They go for Vetoes, in all their variety; for Sub-Treasuries, standing or ies, Treasury circulars. Occupying a simil or power and preregative against privilege as copular rights. The Democrats or Republicans 1798-9, taught by the fatal examples of all history were jealous and distrustful of Executive power. I was of that department that their fears we and against that their vigilance was directed. rederalists of that day, imbibing the opinion from the founders of the Constitution, honestly believed that the Executive was the weakest branch of the

Government, and hence they were disposed to sup cont and strengthen it. But experience has demonstrated their error, and the best part of them hape unit d with the Whigs. And the Whigs are now in the exact position of the Republicans in 1738.9. The residue and probably the larger part of the Federalists joined our opponents, and they are now in the exact position of the Federalists of 1797-9, with this difference—that they have shut their yes gainst all the lights of experience, and pushed the Federal doctrines of that day far beyond the poir (10) which they were ever carried by their predecess. WHOLE NO. 1003.

which they were ever carried by their predecess which they were ever carried by their predecess which they were ever carried by their predecess and must basien to a close. I regret that I am much exhausted, and have not time to discuss o a interesting subjects that engage the public attent of I should be very glad to express to you my viewed the Public Domain; but I have very often on the floor of the Senate, and on other public occasinationly exposed them. I consider it the common preperty of the Nation and the whole Nation. I believe to be essential to its preservation and the pressivation of the funds which may accrue from its sales, that it should be withdrawn from the the atre of act politics, and from the temptations and abuse in cident to it, whilst it remains there. I think into indicate the not done there is much ground to apprepand, at no very distant period, a total loss of the d, at no very distant period, a total loss of attre Domain. Considering the other abundant and abaustless resources of the General Government, I bink that the proceeds of the sales of the Public ands may be well spared to the several State, to applied by them to beneficent local objects. In heir hands, judiciously managed, they will lighten burthen of internal taxation, the only forn of ising Revenue to which they can resort, and as ist the payment of their debts or basten the comletion of important objects, in which the whole l

n, as well as themselves, are interested and wil. b. On the subject of Abolition, I am persuaded i. is on the supercold Annion, I am person on the cessary to say one word to this enlightened assemblage. My opinion was fully expressed in the Senate of the United States a few years ago, and the expression of it was one of the assigned cause of my not reserving the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency in December, 1339. But, if there be the Presidency in December, 1339. But, if there be

ny not reserving the homistry. 1839. But, if there be no presidency in December, 1839. But, if there be no one who doubts, or desires to obtain further information about my views, in respect to that unfortunate question, I refer him to Mr. Mendenhall, of tichmond, Indians.

I hope and believe, fellow-citizens, that brighter days and better times are approaching. All the exhibitions of popular feeling—all the manifestations of the public wishes—this spontaneous and was tassemblage decreve us, if the scenes and the memorable vent of 1840 are not going to be renewed and regnacted. Our opponents complain of the means which acted. Our opponents complain of the means which blage deceive us, if the scenes and the memorable event of 1840 are not going to be renewed and reencated. Our opponents complain of the means which were employed to bring about that event. They attribute their loss of the public confidence to the oppular meetings and processions, to the display of samers, the use of log cabins, the Whig songs, and the exhibition of coons, which preceded the event of 4th. How greatly do they deceive themselves! What little knowledge do they display of human nature! All these were the mere jokes of the campaign. The event itself was produced by a strong, deep and general conviction pervading all classes, and impressed by a dear bought experience, that a change of both measures and men was indispensable to the welfare of the country. It was a great and irresistible movement of the people. Our opponents were unable to withstand, and were borned down by a popular current, far more powerful than that of the mighty father of waters. The symbols and insignia, of which they complain, no more created or impelled that current, than the objects which lost upon the bosom of the Mississippi give impetus to the stream. Our opponents profess to be great riends of the poor, and to take a great interest in their welfare, but they do not like the log cabins in which the poor dwell! They dishike their beverage of hard cider. They prefer sparkling champaigh, and perinaps their taste is correct, but they ought to reflect that it is not within the poor man's reach. They have a mortal hatred to our unoffending coons, and would prefer ary other quadruped. And, tas for our Whig songs, to their ears they appear grales, which are constantly in operation between na one, should we not labor under great and decide lisadvantage, if we had no bank and they had ther and would prefer any other quadruped. And, las and would prefer any other quadruped. And, also for our White songs, to their ears they appear grasting and full of discord, although channed by the loveliest daughters, and most melodious voices of the land! We are very sorry to disoblize our Democratic friends, but I am airraid they will have to reconcile themselves, as well as they can to our log cabins, hard cider, and Whig songs. Popular excitement, demonstrating a lively interest in the administration of public affairs, is far preferable to a state of stillness, of sutten gloem, and when a sequiescence, which denotes the existence of despotism, or a state of coveragation for its introduction. And we need not be which denoies the extended of department, or of preparation for its introduction. And we need not be disturbed, if that excitement should sometimes manifest itself, in indicrous, but innecent forms. But our opposed is seen to have short memories. Who components seem to have short memories. opposents seem to have short memories. Who commenced that species of display and exhibition of
which they now so buterly complain? Have they
dready forgotien the circumstances attendant on the
ampaigns of 1828 and 1832? Have they forgotten
the use which they made of the hog—the whole hog,
bristles and aid? Have the seenes escaped their recolsection, of burning the heads out of barriels, not of
hard cider, but of beer, pouring their contents into
nuches, and then drinking the dirty liquid? Do they
case to remember the use which they made of
the hickory, of hickory poles, and hickory boughs?
On more occasions than one, when it was previousthe hickory, of hickory poles, and hickory boughs. On more occasions than one, when it was previously known that I was to pass on a particular road, have I found the way obstructed by hickory boughs, strewed along it. And I will not take up your time area tog the numerous instances of mean, low strewed along it. And I will not take up your time by narrating the numerous instances of mean, low and vulgar indignity, to which I have been personally exposed. Our oppenents had better exercise a little philosophy on the occasion. They have been our masters in employing symbols and devices to operate on the passions of the People. And, if they would reflect and philosophyze a little, they would arrive at the conclusion that, whenever an army or a political party scheroes a victory over an army or

political party achieves a victory over an adversa-y, by means of any new instrument or stratagem, hat adversary will be sure, sooner or latter, to employ the same means.

I am truly glad to see our opponents returning to a sense of order and decency. I should be still happier, if I did not fear that it was produced by the mortification of a past defeat, and the apprehension of one that awaits them ahead, rather than any thorough reformation of manners. Most certainly, I do not approve of appeals to the passions of the people, or of the use of disgusting or unworthy means to operate on their senses or their understanding. Although I can look and laugh at the employment of hogs and coons to influence the exsee them entirely dispensed with. I should greatly prefer to see every free citizen of the United States deliberately considering and determining how be can best promote the honor and prosperity of his country, by the exercise of his in-stimable privileges, and coming to the polls unaffected by all siniter exertions, and there independently depositing his affects. I should infinitely prefer to see columns. e them entirely dispensed with. I should greatly i-terexections, and there independently depositing his suffrage. I should infinitely prefer to see caluminy, falsehood and detraction totally abandoned, and truth, sincerity, honor and good faith alone practiced in all our discussions; and I think I may venture in all our discussions; and I think I may venture to assure our opponents that, whenever they are prepared to conduct our public discussions and pop-ular elections in the manner and upon the principles which I have indicated, the Whig Party will be as prompt in following their good example, as they were slow and reductant to imitate their bad one.—
The man does not breathe who would be more hap-I should be, to see all parties united, as a band of brothers, to restore our beloved country to what it has been, to what it is so capable of being, to what it ever should be, the great model of self-government, the boast of enlightened and liberal en throughout the world, and, by the justice, wis dom and beneficence of its operation, the terror and the dread of all tyrants. I know and deplore, deeply deplore, the demoralization which has so tensively prevailed in our country, during a past years. It should be to every man who has American heart, a source of the deepest mortification.

past years. It should be to every men who has American heart, a source of the deepest mortification, and most painful regret. Falsehood and treachery, in high places, peculation and fraud among public servants, distress, embarrassment and among public servants, distress, embarrassment and ruin among the people, distracted and disheartened at home, and treated with contempt and obloquy abroad, compose the end features, during the period to which I have adverted, of our unfortunate national picture. I should rejoice to see this great counal picture. I should rejoice to see this great counry once more itself again, and the history of the ry once more itself again, and the history of the past fifteen years shrouded in a dark and impenetra-ole veil. And why shall we not see it! We have only to will it, to revive and cultivate the spirit which won for us, and bequeathed to us, the noble heritage which we enjoy: we have only to rally around the institutions and interests of our beloved country, regardless of every other consideration. reak, if necessary, the chains of party, and rice he mejasty of freemen, and stand out and stand

firmly resolved to dare all and do all, to preach in unsullied purity, and perpetuate unimpaired, noble inheritance which is our birth-right, and sed to us with the blood of our fathers.

One word more, fellow-citizens, and I am dore. I repeat that I had anticipated much gratification may visit to your State. I had long anxion wished to visit it, to tread the soil on which Antican Independence was first proclaimed; to trugle with the descendants of those who were the into question the divine right of Kings, and who, there is the control of the selves, are surpassed by none in devotion to the selves, are surpassed by none in devotion to treasure of human liberty, and to the Constitution and the Union, its best securities. Only one circumstauce has happened to diminish the entisfaction of my journey. When I left my residence in Decemmy journey. When Hert my my journey. When Hert my ber, I anticipated the happiness of meeting, at ber, I anticipated the happiness of meeting, at her living. I had kn others your Gaston, then living. I had kn than a quarter of a century ago in the Houses Representatives. He united all the qualific all the qualifies Representatives. He united all which commanded esteem and adm beloved y all who ke.

I trial submission to the fl of Divine Provi